To Prevent Bloodshed in Mississippi, P. 4

A Glimpse of Hell or How to Kill 25 Guerrillas and Recruit 1500 More

"Tay Ninh, South Vietnam, June 5 (AP)—Loudspeakers blared strident orders Monday night above Vietnamese villages in a 20-mile-long strip of Communist-infested territory adjoining the Cambodian frontier. 'We are going to clear out this area,' warned airborne spokesmen for a jungle-trained task force of Americans and South Vietnamese. 'There will be no life left here. Move out!'

"Today that strip of territory is wrecked and barren. A hazardous scorched-earth operation that may set a new pattern in the war against Viet Cong guerrillas ended last night. About 25 guerrillas were killed, but the prime targets of air and ground attacks were shelter, food and transport. Huts are in ashes. Sampans are sunk. Bullock carts are smashed. Rice stores, poultry and livestock are destroyed or carried off.

"About 700 civilians—women, children and old men—have been moved. That clears the region for later all-out strikes against the able-bodied villagers and Viet Cong troops based among them who chose to flee and fight on under the Red flag. Officers estimated these totalled 1500. . . . American advisers were divided in their opinion of the effect of breaking up Viet Cong families, some feeling it might spur the men to fight harder."

—Baltimore Sun, *June 6*

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On Goldwater, Ike and The GOP's Gutless Wonders

It looks like Goldwater, and if that ruins the Republican party it's no more than its so-called liberal leaders deserve. We have yet to see a bigger collection of gutless wonders and inane mediocrities, from Eisenhower down. In particular, after watching Scranton (see adjoining box) on *Face The Nation* last Sunday, we found our sympathies with Goldwater. If we were a Republican, we might be for him, too. He may be a crazy mixed up kid from Phoenix, but like Popeye he is what he is. Nobody knows what the rest of them are. Rockefeller is more dangerous because sugar-coated by the necessities of New York state politics. He's just about as liberal as Allen Dulles and a little more belligerent in foreign policy. As for Eisenhower, it is time the truth were told about him. No man ever got further on less: he hasn't the foggiest notion what domestic politics are all about, he seems to think Lincoln fought that war to defend States Rights. He showed his spinelessness years ago when he refused to defend his friend George Marshall against McCarthy, and he's too lazy ever really to exert himself. His off-again, on-again performance about Goldwater was true to form.

Put The Birchites Where They Can Be Seen

The Goldwater campaign will probably put a half dozen Birchites into Congress but that doesn't make us nervous either. One of the things that killed McCarthy was making him visible on TV. The more the public gets a look at these crypto-Fascist screwballs, the worse for them. Rather than leave the Goldwater coalition of Birchites and Rip Van Winkle McKinleyites feel that they had been cheated of their chance by Eastern seaboard influences, we'd rather see them get it. We have no doubts about the outcome. The bad thing about a Goldwater campaign is that it will enable Johnson to move rightward, but maybe that will free the liberals from his clutches for action on their own. On Cuba and on Vietnam, it's hard to distinguish between the so-called "extremists" and the men in power; the only difference between them is in the degree to which they would wage war, and this difference is largely the difference between being in power and sobered by it, and being out of power and free to indulge in demagogy. We remember how Kennedy spoke against Eisenhower in 1960 on Cuba, Laos and that imaginary missile gap. The *Financial Times* of London said quite rightly last week that a campaign between Goldwater and Johnson would be like a contest in England between the extreme right wing of the Tory party—and its left wing, i.e. between a bit of a crackpot and a moderate conservative. In any case, should Goldwater be nominated, we don't advise readers to leave for New Zealand. It'll be much more interesting here.

June 8

Just A Man of Principle

Mr. OTTEN (Wall St. Journal): Are you saying that Sen. Goldwater does not fit that image of Lincoln and Eisenhower?

Gov. SCRANTON: No, I am not saying that. . . . I think the most important thing, first of all, is to find out precisely where the Party is moving in this, and to make sure that it does stand by the principles that it has always stood for. And if I am convinced that this will not occur, then you will see quite a little activity on my part to make sure that it does.

Mr. NIVEN (CBS News): Does that mean becoming a candidate, perhaps?

Gov. SCRANTON: I would doubt that, sir . . . I don't plan to go out and try and defeat Sen. Goldwater . . . But I do think it important . . . that the Party keep to a sound footing. . . .

Mr. NIVEN: Would you consider Mr. Goldwater an unsuitable nominee if he had just voted against the civil rights bill?

Gov. SCRANTON: No, not necessarily. I don't think one bill makes the difference. . . .

Mr. NIVEN: Would you accept a nomination to run with Sen. Goldwater?

Gov. SCRANTON: Well, maybe. . . .

Mr. OTTEN: Even though you would not be comfortable campaigning with him?

Gov. SCRANTON: I am usually pretty comfortable campaigning. . . .

—On CBS Face The Nation, Sunday June 7

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West German Bundestag Ratifies Nuclear Test Treaty Only After U.S. Assurances on MLF

British Laborite Wilson Claims K Agreement to Mideast Peace Moves

We hope there was more to the Johnson-Eshkol meeting than appeared in public. Otherwise the meeting was little more than a bit of mutual electioneering. It helped Johnson with the Jewish vote, without committing the U.S. to anything which would antagonize the Arabs and their friends among the oil companies. It may help Eshkol in the fight he now faces with Ben Gurion over the Lavon affair. Most disappointing was the lack of any concrete progress on Johnson's unexpected offer last February of "cooperative research" in the desalinization of sea water by nuclear power. The final communique only promised joint studies.

One Way to Get Nazi Scientists Out of Egypt

In this respect Labor Party leader Harold Wilson's trip to Moscow seems more promising than Eshkol's visit to Washington. The U.S. press and wire services paid little attention to Wilson's Middle East initiatives there. He claimed at a press conference in Moscow after seeing Khrushchev that the Soviet Premier had responded favorably to proposals (1) for a treaty forbidding any nation to let its scientists help others build nuclear weapons and missiles and (2) for an arms shipment control commission to prevent an arms race in the Middle East.*

On general disarmament Wilson's talks were less fruitful. The stumbling block is the MLF, on which the U.S. is proceeding despite the fears of the Eastern bloc and the misgivings of all its Western allies except the Germans. Moscow cannot take our talk of wishing to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons seriously while we propose to put a German finger on the nuclear trigger via the MLF. We would feel the same way if Moscow were setting up a joint satellite nuclear force for *its* Germans. The British Labor Party has made it clear that it will not support MLF if it wins the next election. Belgian, Dutch and West German trade union leaders pointedly abstained when Jean Monnet's unofficial Committee for a U.S. of Europe backed a joint U.S.-European nuclear force though without endorsing the MLF. Fears East and West will be increased by the fact that the West German Bundestag did not ratify the nuclear test ban treaty until U.S. negotiator Wm. C. Foster arrived in Bonn with assurances that U.S. disarmament proposals at Geneva "will do nothing to endanger the planned multilateral nuclear force." (*Baltimore Sun,* June 6).

The State Department and undercover agencies are still doing their best to keep full awareness of MLF's significance from the U.S. public. The visit to the Hague of a Women's Strike for Peace delegation representing women from all NATO countries was blacked out of the U.S. press though it provided picture and feature story material otherwise attractive and widely played in Dutch papers. The barring of Mrs. Linus Pauling at the Dutch border was the kind of disgraceful business in which FBI and CIA specialize. The women presented a petition to the NATO Council meeting signed by some of the world's greatest scientists and thinkers but it is hard to find any mention of this in the U.S. press. WISP is planning nationwide demonstrations July 15 when the Destroyer Biddle is launched at Norfolk as an MLF pilot project with 49 German sailors aboard. This will probably also get blackout treatment.

*** Le Monde of June 5 which arrived at press time carries an AFP dispatch from Moscow quoting Wilson as saying, "I asked Khrushchev if he was against Egypt and other countries becoming nuclear powers. He was very categoric. He said he did not want countries like Egypt to become nuclear powers."**

Why Korea's Students Revolt

"The dismal fact, which neither South Korea nor the U.S. will admit publicly, is that the costly American program to rebuild agrarian South Korea has failed while industrial North Korea under Communist methods has achieved relative stability and prosperity. Two months ago North Korea dramatically contrasted conditions in the divided halves of the country by offering unemployed South Korean students full-time jobs. . . . Of more than 30,000 students leaving university in South Korea this year only 600 have secured worthwhile employment. The Japanese believe that in these circumstances and with the bitterness of the Korean war receding many South Koreans would rather seek reunion than adopt the only alternative of closer ties with Japan—and the risk of reimposed Japanese financial dominance."

—Richard Hughes from Tokyo in The Guardian *(London) May 17, quoting an un-named U.S. diplomat as saying, "We don't shout it aloud but with all its risks and dangers, a reunion of the two halves of Korea has never been nearer than now."*

So The Pentagon's Real Purpose Is Not To Keep An Eye On Castro But To Humiliate Him

"U.S. reconnaissance satellites have been photographing the face of the earth, including Russia and her satellite nations for five years. But the Pentagon has said little about its satellite system since a few months after the first experimental vehicle was orbited in 1959. So no official Pentagon comment was stirred by the report yesterday that Khrushchev has expressed belief that this country should conduct its inspection of Cuba in this manner and avoid a new crisis arising out of overflights. . . .

"American officials, when asked about the feasibility of using satellite reconnaissance over Cuba, say that this would not meet the American purpose at all. The American surveillance must be conspicuous in order to demonstrate that the 'right' to fly over Cuba claimed since the missile crisis is still being exercised. Actually no one in a responsible position in the American government believes that there are offensive missiles in Cuba. Introduction of long-range missiles could be checked easily by satellite photography, radar-carrying aircraft flying off Cuba, or by conventional espionage.

"But these methods would be invisible to Premier Fidel Castro and the Cubans. Surveillance is maintained by U-2 aircraft flying over the island at an altitude that is high but not so high that the Cubans cannot try to shoot them down. Administration policy is that if one is shot down all of the Cuban surface-to-air missiles, supplied by Russia, will promptly be destroyed in retaliation.

"In other words, the over-flights are really a dare to Mr. Castro to start something."

—AP in the Washington Evening Star *May 30*

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Should U.S. Scientists in Drug Frauds Be Allowed to Plead "Superior Orders"?

Time to Hit A Sensitive Nerve By Calling It "Johnson's War"

Aiken's speech on Southeast Asia in the Senate June 2 was doubly significant: the first Republican to join the small peace force gathered around Morse and Gruening; and, unlike Morse, who has been tactfully calling this "McNamara's War," Aiken put the responsibility where it belongs—on the President. Johnson cannot be allowed the mantle of peace-maker and war-maker at the same time. True, he inherited the war from Kennedy. But the decisions now are his. His favorite line is, "Come, let us reason together." When will he apply it to Southeast Asia? In Eastern Europe his policy is to detach the Soviet's satellites by trade and cultural relations. When is he going to apply the same method to Vietnam? Aiken opposed extension of the war and favored an international conference. This is the way to avoid the stigma of "Johnson's War." The peace forces ought to step hard on this sensitive nerve.

The Moral Duty of Scientists

At the Nuremberg trial, the court insisted men could not escape punishment for inhuman acts by pleading they had only been carrying out orders from their superiors. Federal Judge McGuire here in the District of Columbia applied a more lenient rule in the Richardson-Merrell case. Three scientists who pleaded *nolo contendere,* the equivalent of guilty, to charges of supplying misleading reports to the Food and Drug Administration on a harmful anti-cholosterol patent medicine were allowed to go free on six months probation. Judge McGuire said he felt the blame rested "on the failure of proper executive, managerial and supervisory control." This is dangerous judicial doctrine. Scientists know what they are doing. Not to punish them is to encourage similar violation of moral duty in other laboratories. MER-29, marketed as an anti-cholosterol drug, caused cataracts and impotence. The company sold $12,000,000 worth—and now gets away with an $80,000 fine!

The wisdom of outlawing loyalty oaths is reinforced by a figure the *Baltimore Sun* disclosed June 4. The editorial welcomed the Supreme Court's decision against the oaths imposed by the State of Washington and suggested repeal of Maryland's Ober Act which has a similar loyalty oath. The *Sun* pointed out that "on a secret list Ober enforcers have 3,000 names, although they admit there are no more than 100 'die-hard' Communists in the State." This means that the Ober Act in its 15 years of existence has given Maryland an excuse to keep Left and liberal organizations of all kinds under surveillance and to build a black (or "Red") list.

While Secretary Rusk hailed the Shah of Persia as "a symbol of stability" and the *Washington Star* as "a cause for democratic rejoicing," the State Department and the Iranian Embassy did their best to frustrate a press conference called in protest by the Iranian Student Association. The Shah is a symbol of police state rule and a fake land reform used to siphon U.S. aid dollars into Swiss banks. Hardest of all for the students to understand is why three American universities confer honorary degrees on a ruler who sent troops with "shoot to kill" orders into the University of Teheran two years ago killing one student and wounding 2,000 others. The only appropriate degree would be Doctor of Despotism.

The Case For A Cease-Fire Now

"It is becoming increasingly evident that the undeclared war in Vietnam can and will ultimately be settled only at the conference table. If that is the case then the sooner the U.S. takes the initiative in the UN to obtain a cease-fire the better. On June 1 the Washington Post editorialized that the U.S. should take a 'middle course.' Admitting that the issues of Vietnam will ultimately have to be settled at the conference table, the editorial would nevertheless advocate needless sacrifice of thousands of American lives to strengthen our hand at the conference table. The military might of the U.S. does not need to prove itself by the needless loss of thousands of its fighting men nor by the incineration of villages by napalm bombs. The New York Times adopts a similar position editorially, saying in its May 29 issue, 'The prelude to a peaceful settlement through negotiation may have to be a temporary increase. . . . To get our troops out of the area . . . it may be necessary first to put more in.' In other words we have got to kill a lot more American boys as well as Vietnamese and spend more millions of dollars before we do what we know we will have to do ultimately. What utter folly!"

—Gruening of Alaska in the Senate June 3 (abridged) a speech most of the press ignored.

Ignorance and Inhumanity Uncovered in the Defoliation-by-Atom-Bomb Controversy

The defoliation controversy is uncovering not only the irresponsibility of Senator Goldwater but the ignorance and inhumanity of the Air Force. The atomic physicist Ralph E. Lapp in a letter (New York Times June 5) takes issue with the General from whom Goldwater got the idea of using atomic bombs to deprive guerrillas in Vietnam of their leafy cover. The proposal for defoliation-by-atom-bomb (of Hiroshima power) was put forward in the Air University Quarterly Review (Spring, 1960) by Gen. Frederic H. Smith, Jr., now retired but then at U S. Air Force HQ in Europe.

Dr. Lapp wrote that Gen. Smith's "thesis is in violent disharmony with the official data on nuclear weapons effects." He pointed out that on page 346 of "The Effects of Nuclear Weapons", the Bible on the subject, "there appears a photo of an area 1.25 miles from Ground Zero at Hiroshima." The trees in the photo are "intact, no limbs ar broken, and leaves are in place." Where trees were denuded in Hiroshima or Nagasaki it was by fire storm. The probability of a fire storm in the rain forests of Vietnam, Dr. Lapp went on, was very low "due to the high water content of the leaves."

Dr. Lapp's letter dealt only with the defoliation problem. A more serious question is raised by Gen. Smith's article. "We must achieve," the General wrote, "through education and through clear-cut, logical tactical doctrine, a general acceptance by the U.S. of the requirement for the use of nuclear weapons in limited war." He expressed the belief that "limited aggression" could be deterred if enemies were convinced "that we can and will employ nuclear firepower from the outset." Thus his article is to be read as part of a campaign to get the American public used to the idea. We don't think it will endear us to the peasants of Vietnam.

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Five Unsolved Negro Murders in Five Months in Mississippi

Will the White House Wait for More Bloodshed This Summer Before Acting?

There will be murder this summer in Mississippi. More urgent than the Civil Rights Bill, which seemed sure of passage as we went to press, are steps to inhibit violence in Mississippi when 1,000 volunteers invade the State to help Negroes register. The Council of Federated Organizations, which is running this Mississippi Summer Project, held a hearing here last Monday before a panel of writers and educators on which we hope to report more fully in next week's issue. The testimony showed a campaign of terror by official and unofficial white agencies in the State to prevent the registration of Negro voters.

The Basic Law Is White Supremacy

Law enforcement there is enforcement of white supremacy. This is an old story but it still, as naive questions at the hearing indicated, seems to surprise good people in the North. Some of our best boys and girls are going to get the same treatment in Mississippi this summer unless strong preventive action is taken in advance.

The ideal move would be to send troops or Federal marshals to Mississippi before instead of after bloodshed. A politically more practical move would be to press for hearings in Mississippi this summer by the Civil Rights Commission. The Kennedy Administration vetoed hearings in that State. Johnson ought to be petitioned to order them. The crisis in civil rights will come in Mississippi this summer. The Commission ought to be on hand to observe it. Its presence would inhibit violence. The restraining influence would be strengthened if the President announced that an FBI man and a Justice Department man would be on hand at each hearing.

If the White House cannot be moved then we urge that a citizens' panel like that (under Dr. Harold Taylor) which presided at the hearing last week be formed to hold hearings during July and August in Mississippi.

Steps of this kind will save lives. The testimony at the hearing showed that there have been five unsolved murders of Negroes in Mississippi during the past five months. One was that of Louis Allen, who witnessed the unpunished 1961 slaying of Herbert Lee, a registration worker by E. H. Hurst, a member of the State legislature. Allen later signed an affidavit saying that Hurst had killed Lee "without provocation." Allen was warned to leave; had his jaw broken by a deputy sheriff; asked the Justice Department in vain for protection. His head was blown off by a shotgun just 12 hours before his scheduled departure. That is how they play it in Mississippi.

The gap between what Congress enacts and what Mississippi obeys is an abyss. One brave Negro testified that after he tried to register his house was fire-bombed—and then he was arrested for arson! James Travis, a SNCC field worker, was shot in the back of the head while returning from a voter registration rally. Suspects were arrested after pressure on the FBI but have never been brought to trial. These stories are a sample of what to expect this summer.

Another Nail in the SACB's Coffin

As we were about to go to press a major victory was won in the fight against the registration provisions of the Internal Security Act. The Supreme Court, by refusing to grant a review, left standing a unanimous decision by Chief Judge Bazelon in the Court of Appeals which held that officials of the Communist Party could not, under the 5th amendment, be required to register the Party. Just three years ago, the Supreme Court 5-to-4 upheld the registration provisions as not in violation of the 1st amendment but declined to pass on the 5th amendment question until someone had been convicted for failure to register. The dissenters, Warren, Black, Douglas and Brennan, held then that the 5th amendment applied. Of the original majority, Harlan, Clark and Stewart are still on the Court. White took no part, since he had been in the Justice Department when the case was being prosecuted. The government may, under the decision below, ask for a new trial and take on itself the almost impossible burden of proving that the Party may find a "willing volunteer" to register it without incriminating himself. In the absence of such a request, an acquittal will be ordered. This would not mean the end of the Subversive Activities Control Board with its power of blacklisting radical organizations, but it would be another judicial nail in its coffin.

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